

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USBERL 02044 01 OF 02 091251Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EURE-00 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01 SAJ-01 IO-10 ACDA-05

ACDE-00 /070 W

----- 046837

O P 091200Z OCT 75

FM USMISSION USBERLIN

TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1521

AMEMBASSY BERLIN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

CINCUSAREUR

CINCUSAFAE

CINCEUR

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 USBERLIN 2044

MILITARY ADDRESSEES FOR POLADS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, WB, GE, GW, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET-GDR TREATY--BERLIN ASPECTS

1. SUMMARY: BERLIN REACTION TO NEW SOVIET-GDR TREATY  
HAS BEEN RESTRAINED. SENAT, PARTY POLITICIANS AND  
PRESS ALL NOTE DISAPPEARANCE OF REFERENCES TO GERMAN  
UNITY AND FOUR POWER RESPONSIBILITIES AND CRITICIZE  
PARTIAL CITATION OF QA PASSAGE ON FRG-BERLIN TIES.  
GENERAL FEELING APPEARS TO BE, HOWEVER, THAT TREATY  
CONTAINS LITTLE THAT IS NEW ON GERMAN UNITY AND BERLIN  
QUESTIONS. IF ANYTHING, INITIAL REACTION SEEMS LESS  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USBERL 02044 01 OF 02 091251Z

EXCITED THAN IT WAS LAST YEAR WHEN GDR DELETED

REFERENCES TO GERMAN NATION FROM ITS CONSTITUTION. THERE IS SOME CONCERN, HOWEVER, THAT BERLIN ARTICLE OF TREATY SIGNALS FURTHER SOVIET AND GDR EFFORTS TO ISOLATE CITY. WE ARE STRUCK BY RELATIVELY MINOR PLACE BERLIN HAS IN PRESENT TREATY AS COMPARED TO ITS 1964 PREDECESSOR, ALTHOUGH FORMULATION OF BERLIN ARTICLE DOES PROBABLY PRESAGE DIFFICULT DAYS AHEAD ON FRG TIES AND GIVES FAIR WARNING OF CONTINUED GDR INTEREST IN GAINING PREDOMINANT ROLE HERE. COMPARATIVELY BRIEF TREATMENT BERLIN RECEIVES PROBABLY REFLECTS SOVIET-GDR BELIEF THAT QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, IN CONJUNCTION WITH CSCE, HAS REMOVED BERLIN FROM EUROPE'S FRONT BURNER. WE DOUBT THER IS ENOUGH OF SUBSTANCE IN THIS TREATY TO WARRANT ANYTHING LIKE SULL SCALE TRIPARTITE REBUTTAL THAT WAS MOUNTED IN 1964 BUT BELIEVE IT MIGHT BE PRUDENT, AND PERHAPS REQUIRED BY GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION, TO PREPARE BRIEF PRESS STATEMENT THAT ALLIES COULD CONSIDER USING.  
END SUMMARY.

2. NONE OF EARLY COMMENTATORS IN WEST BERLIN WHOSE REMARKS WE HAVE SEEN SUGGESTS THAT TREATY HAS MUCH THAT IS NEW OR SURPRISING. SENAT HAS THUS FAR LIMITED ITSELF TO BRIEFD REMARKS FROM PRESS SPOKEMAN STRUVE TO EFFECT THAT TREATY PARTNERS SHOULD HAVE CITED THAT PART OF QA THAT SYAS FRG-BERLIN TIES CAN BE MAINTAINED AND DEVELOPED AS WELL AS THAT PART WHICH SAYS CITY IS NOT PART OF FRG AND CANNOT BE GOVERNED BY IT. STRUVE ALSO CALLED BERLIN ARTICLE, NOT UNFAVORABLY, "A QUALITATIVE CHANGE" SINCE UNLIKE 1964 TREATY IT DOES NOT USE TERM "SEPARATE POLITICAL ENTITY" TO DESCRIBE CITY'S STATUS. HEAD OF SPD FRAKTION IN BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HAUS AND CDU COUNTERPART LUMMER BOTH CRITICIZED ONE-SIDED INTERPRETATION OF QA IN TREATY AND UNILATERAL EFFORT TO FINALIZE FOR ALL TIME DIVISION OF GERMANY. FDP BUNDESTAG REPRESENTATIVE HOPPE POINTED OUT GERMAN UNITY DEPENDS IN LONG RUN LESS ON WHAT CHIEFS OF STATE SAY THAN UPON FEELING OF PEOPLE IN TWO GERMAN STATES. TAGESSPIEGEL EDITORIAL PICKED UP HOPPE'S THEME WITH ASSERTION THAT TREATY MEETS PRESENT  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USBERL 02044 01 OF 02 091251Z

NEEDS OF GDR AND SOVIETY UNION BUT "LAST WORD ABOUT GERMAN NATION HAS NOT BEEN SPOKEN BY BREZHNEV AND HONECKER." HOPPE AND BERLIN PRESS NOTE THAT GERMAN UNITY OPTION REMIANS OPEN TO SOVIETS AND GDR WHEN IT SUITS THEIR PURPOSE AND THAT, TECHNICALLY SPEAKING, ALL REFERENCES TO REUNIFICATION CONTAINED IN 1955 RELATIONS TREATY AND 1964 FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION TREATY REMAIN IN FORCE SINCE NEW TREATY DOES NOT

FORMALLY AMEND OR REPEAL PREDECESSORS. AGAINST THIS  
RELATIVELY COMPLACENT REACTION TO ABSENCE GERMAN UNITY  
PASSAGES, BERLIN PRESS POINTS IN SOME DETAIL TO  
THOSE ELEMENTS OF NEW TREATY--PARTICULARLY BROADER  
MILITARY COMMITMENT, WHICH MORGENPOST AND DIE WELT SEE AS POSSIBLY  
LEADING TO STATIONING OF GERMAN SOLDIERS ON CHINESE  
BORDER DEMONSTRATING DEGREE TO WHICH GDR IS HELD FAST  
BY EMBRACE OF BUSSIAN BEAR.

3. WE ARE STRUCK BY RELATIVELY BRIEF TREATMENT ACCORDED  
BERLIN IN THIS TREATY AND IN PROPAGANDA FEAST WHICH  
ACCOMPANIED ITS PUBLICATION. DEVOTION TO CITY OF EVEN  
ONE ARTICLE IN TWELVE ARTICLE AGREEMENT SPEAKS, OF COURSE,  
OF CONTINUED IMPORTANCE OF BERLIN SISSES IN EYES OF  
BOTH TREATY PARTNERS, BUT THAT ARTICLE IS ALL THERE IS.  
IN 1964 THER WAS, IN ADDITION TO SPECIAL ARTICLE,  
FURTHER REFERENCE IN TREATY TO NEED FOR "NORMALIZATION  
OF THE SITUATION IN WEST BERLIN," AND SUBSTANTIAL  
REFERENCES TO CITY IN SIMULTANEOUS JOINT KHRUSHCHEV-  
ULBRICHT COMMUNIQUE. WE INTERPRET THIS CONTRAST AS  
ESSENTIALLY REAFFIRMATION OF SOVIET-GDR VIEW THAT  
QA IN CONJUNCTION WITH CSCE REPRESENTS NORMALIZATION  
OF BERLIN SITUATION AND ERSATZ PEACE TREATY WHICH  
1964 AGREEMENT ENVISAGED. ABSENCE OF SPECIFIC REF-  
ERENCES TO BERLIN IN VARIOUS STATEMENTS AND TOASTS  
MADE AROUND AND ABOUT TREATY SIGNING, HOWEVER, ALSO  
PROBABLY PROVIDES INDICATION THAT, SO LONG AS FRG  
DOES NOT TRY TO GO BEYOND SOVIET-GDR INTERPRETATION  
OF WHAT IS PERMISSIBLE IN QA, BERLIN IS AT LEAST  
FOR THE MOMENT NO LONGER PROBLEM OR TARGET OF OPPORTUNITY  
OF FIRST MAGNITUDE TO SOVIETS.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USBERL 02044 02 OF 02 091240Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EURE-00 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01 SAJ-01 IO-10 ACDA-05

ACDE-00 /070 W

----- 046701

O P 091200Z OCT 75  
FM USMISSION USBERLIN  
TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1522  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN PRIORITY UNN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION NATO  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
CINCUSAREUR UNN  
CINCUSAFFE UNN  
CINCEUR UNN

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 2 USBERLIN 2044

MILITARY ADDRESSEES FOR POLADS

4. WE DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT NEW AGREEMENT INDICATES TREATY PARTNERS WILL ADOPT PASSIVE POLICY TOWARD BERLIN. 1964 COMMUNIQUE CONTAINED ASSERTION THAT WEST BERLIN "IS IN THE CENTER OF THE GDR AND LIES ON ITS TERRITORY." THIS TYPE OF LANGUAGE, WITH OMINOUS SHADOWS OF POTENTIAL SOVEREIGNTY CLAIMS, WOULD PRESUMABLY NOT FIT POST-HELSINKI MOOD, BUT FORMULATION OF BERLIN ARTICLE IS NONTHELESS NOTE-WORTHY. SOVIETS AND GDR DO NOT SIMPLY SAY THEY WILL BASE THEIR POLICY TOWARD WEST BERLIN ON QA BUT, PUTTING NEW TWIST ON QA LANGUAGE, THAT THEY WILL MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP THEIR OWN TIES TO WEST BERLIN PROCEEDING FROM CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USBERL 02044 02 OF 02 091240Z

FACT THAT CITY IS NOT PART OF NOR GOVERNED BY FRG. THIS HAS SOME OVERTONES NOT ONLY OF RITUAL WARNINGS AGAINST ALLEGED FRG REVANCHISM BUT OF SOVIET AND GDR INTENTION TO INCREASE ROLES IN CITY, AND PERHAPS TO IMPLY TIES TO GDR HINTERLAND SHOULD EQUAL THOSE TO BONN. IN SHORT TERM, WE SUSPECT IT WILL BE USED AND PERHAPS CITED BY GDR AS UNDERPINNING FOR ITS REFUSAL TO ACCEPT FRG REPRESENTATION OF BERLIN'S INTERESTS WHENEVER POSSIBLE AND FOR ITS EFFORTS TO CONCLUDE ITS OWN SERIES OF AGREEMENTS WITH SENAT. OVER LONGER TERM, WE SUSPECT IT REFLECTS DESIRE OF TREATY PARTNERS TO INCREASE WEST BERLIN'S DEPENDENCE UPON THEIR GOOD GRACES IN PROPORTION TO EXTENT FRG INFLUENCE IS REDUCED.

5. NONE OF THIS IS PARTICULARLY NEW, AND WE AGREE WITH BERLIN COMMENTATORS THAT LAST WORD ON BERLIN PROBLEM AND ON GERMAN UNITY HAS NOT BEEN SPOKEN. FACT

THAT THERE HAVE BEEN THREE SOVIET-GDR TREATIES IN 20 YEARS ON ESSENTIALLY SAME SUBJECTS ALONE SPEAKS SUFFICIENTLY FOR FLEXIBILITY OF TREATY PARTNERS IN SHAPING THEIR BILATERAL COMMITMENTS TO NEEDS OF SOVIET POLICY OF MOMENT. WE SEE NOTHING IN TREATY, MOREOVER, WHICH SUGGESTS SOVIETS HAVE GIVEN GREEN LIGHT TO GDR TO ATTEMPT CHANGES IN AREAS OF VITAL ALLIED CONCERN SUCH AS ACCESS ROUTES. IT WILL BE RECALLED, HOWEVER, THAT BOTH IN 1955 AND IN 1964, ALLIES RESPONDED TO SOVIET-GDR TREATIES WITH STATEMENTS RESERVING THEIR LEGAL POSITION AND REASSERTING THEIR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. THIS WAS DONE IN 1955 VIA NOTE TO SOVIETS AND IN 1964 VIA TRIPARTITE DECLARATION. WHILE NOTHING SO FORMAL OR SOLEMN APPEARS TO BE CALLED FOR BY LATEST TREATY, BRIEF PRESS STATEMENT, PERHAPS ISSUED AT LEVEL OF CHAIRMAN PRESS OFFICER IN BERLIN, COULD BE USEFUL SAFEGUARD. IT MIGHT ALSO BE HELPFUL IN WARDING OFF CHARGES THAT COULD DEVELOP IN INTERNAL GERMAN DEBATE OVER SIGNIFICANCE OF TREATY THAT ALLIES WERE PERMITTING FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES TO BE CHIPPED AWAY AND QA TO BE INTERPRETED UNILATERALLY. (WE HAVE JUST SEEN PRESS REPORTS THAT FRG INTENDS TO SEEK CONSULTATIONS WITH ALLIES OVER BERLIN IMPLICATIONS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USBERL 02044 02 OF 02 091240Z

OF TREATY.) IF SUCH A STATEMENT IS DEEMED USEFUL WE WOULD SUGGEST IT COULD BE QUITE BRIEF, PERHAPS ALONG FOLLOWING LINES: "ALLIES HAVE NOTED REPORTS OF TREATY SIGNED IN MOSCOW OCTOBER 7 BY SOVIET UNION AND GDR. AS WITH EARLIER AGREEMENTS SIGNED IN 1955 AND 1964, NOTHING IN THIS AGREEMENT CAN IN ANY WAY AFFECT QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. NOR CAN IT REPRESENT A VALID INTERPRETATION OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT OF 3 SEPTEMBER 1971, ONE PART OF WHICH IT CITES IN AN INCOMPLETE FASHION AND OUT OF CONTEXT." GEORGE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** AGREEMENTS, PRESS COMMENTS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 09 OCT 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975USBERL02044  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750351-0242  
**From:** USBERLIN  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19751068/aaaacisc.tel  
**Line Count:** 262  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 04 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <04 APR 2003 by SmithRJ>; APPROVED <30 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SOVIET-GDR TREATY--BERLIN ASPECTS  
**TAGS:** PGOV, PFOR, WB, GC, GE, UR  
**To:** BONN  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006